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THE ADVOCATE.



L O N D O N,

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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
THE
Council of State.

Right Honorable:



Am often in very great doubt (if I may so speak), that the Goodness & Wisdom of God, & his thoughts of these, are very rarely met with, in the Paths, which the scantling of Man's Reason and Judgment walk in; And as I dare not but own the Belief of the Coming of his Appearance, and the breaking forth, very shortly, of his Glorie: So I believ likewise, this will bee a sight very strange, and very unexpected to men; and not onely greatly above, but in som measure even contrarie (and perhaps, very unwelcom) unto the most enlarged and raised thoughts wee have yet prepared our selvs with, to recerv it.

The sign of which Coming, will bee the Detection, by little and little, of all Impolture, and the laying of all things low, naked, and mean before him; the stripping men of that Honor, Credit, and Repute, that they had by several means been gaining with themselves, (and by themselves) with others, either through

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Not knowledge, or through an artificial concealing of themselves.

In these very things (if well observed) lying, and within these indeed, being spent and consumed, the whole Endeavors, Practice, Studie and Wisdom (if not Religion) of All States, Ages, Nations and Men, viz.

Either in devising shifts (by acquisition of such and such Power, Habits, or otherwise) not to appear uncomly to themselves, but to beget rather a greatness, esteem and satisfaction in themselves, and others of themselves;

Or, in Concealing and keeping close (by several Glosses) the Imperfections, weakneses, and uncomlinesses, (known to themselves) from the sight and apprehensions of others;

The more exquisite Wit exceeding the more inferior onely in this, that the former is able to finde out more tight and exquisite textures for it self then the other; And the most fortunate man in this world, having the Advantage of the more unfortunate, but after the same manner also, viz. that the covering of this falls off a little sooner, and the other wraps himself up in it a while longer.

For thus all Lusts whatsoever (whether those of Ambition) in the minde (or others to exterior things) both in their first Issuings forth, and in their utmost Accomplishments, are still but either to give countenance unto, or further to heap up a kinde of greatness, Reputation and Esteem in us for us. The Assumption (on the other side) of a Reputation and Esteem to our selves, is, That which after give's a kinde of lawfulness, boldness, and currancy (during it) to all Lusts. (These two; observing time, and holding time each to the measures and motions of the other) and within this Circle therefore is concluded whole Humane Nature, with all the Parts, and the most perfect Actions of it.

Upon these thoughts (Right Honorable!) I finding none not very ready to have ascribed to himself the name of being (in some measure) wise, becaus it is estimable, finde none that can
endure

endure the Manifestation (in any kind) of their Fallie; or that can bee willing to have this their Wisdom and Glorie to bee flathly and plainly called a Pageantrie, Mimming, or playing at bo-peep with themselves and others; and yet (it really being no honestie) if wee cannot bear the Judgments thus one of another, how shall wee abide the Trial, or bee able to stand before the Judgment of God, which seeth us, (and will shortly search us) with more pure and uncorrupt Eyes? And how miserably then are the Imaginations of almost all men muffled up here in their own dressings? when the Truth most certainly is in our Beeings, at their best (natural, or acquir'd) Appearances, are yet such feign'd Things, and Propp'd up with such Lyes and fundamental mistakes of themselves, that they would (Belshazzzer like,) moulder and shatter themselves to pieces, should they bee taken quite aunder from the disguises and patchings they have put upon themselves, bare-facedly and undeceivedly to see themselves but one small part of an hour.

Being convinced, by these, therefore (Right Honorable!) of the low Condition wee are herein, I not knowing what the Councils of God intend to bring forth for the settlement of this Nation; Nor how hee hath resolv'd in his Wisdom to dispose of it, (as to its outward Condition,) whether Hee intend's wee shall bee oppressed by other Nations about us, that hee may the more manifest his Power and Protection over us: Or that wee shall bee advanced in Prosperitie above others, that so hee may perhaps shew us our vanitie (the casting of the Scale either way in appearance much depending upon the present Councils) I say, not knowing this, I can as little judge what means Providence will pleas to use in order to the bringing to pass these his purposes, whether hee will chuse This, or reject That.

But in this Case, notwithstanding remembring the advice of Solomon, and knowing nothing (for I do affirm it but as to mine ^{Eccles. 1. 1.} own understanding) that hath presented it self in this Common-^{5, 6.}wealth, of more Import to bee looked after, or to bee very heedfully taken into Consideration, then Matters of Trade, (if wee

shall either regard the Saferie, Unanimitie, or Defence of this Nation) Nor any other waie possible but This, to preserv and maintein this Countrie: calling also to minde, how many times I have heard it urged, That there is no other means to quiet or keep up the spirits of the poorer sort of people: No other to give them Imploiment, or to finde a vent and Incouragement for their Labors (when they have wrought) and consequently no other to provide against the wants and distempers of them, and of the Generalitie, but solely by Trade, and by a due Order and Regulation of it. All these things making up a very strong Affection in mee, I judged it my dutie (Right Honorable!), and what necessarily became the faithfulness I owe to the Commonwealth's service, to indevor the representing of this Truth (for your Honor's fuller Information) with the clearest Grounds and demonstration I could, which beeing a matter that did much depend upon Experience, I knew not how to bring this more home, then by propounding a President for it in our Neighbors the Hollanders; and such an one, as is still in sight, which may at once witness, The Advantage of Trade, By themselves, and the benefit they have found by it; The Disadvantage of neglecting it, By what they have brought upon us; And the clear waie of Governing it, By the Courses they Actually took, and have practised to effect both these.

All which Conceptions, nevertheless, are with all humbleness submitted By

Your Honor's servant

Febr. 11. 1657

Philips



THE ADVOCATE:

OR,

A NARRATIVE

Of the state and condition of things between the *English* and *Dutch* Nation, in relation to TRADE, and the consequences depending thereupon, to either Common-wealth, as it was presented in *August 1651*.



It hath been a thing for many years generally received, That the Design of *Spain* (and which, to this daie, hee still in his Councils carri's on) is, to get the Universal Monarchie of Christendom. Nor is it a thing less true (how little soever observed) that our Neighbors [*the Dutch*] (after they had settled their Libertie, and been a while encouraged by Prosperitie) have, likewise, for som years, aimed to laie a foundation to themselves for ingrossing the Universal Trade, not onely of Christendom, but indeed, of the greater part of the known world; that so they might poiz the Affairs of any other State about them, and

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make

make their own Considerable, if not by the Largeness of their Countrey; yet, however, by the Greatness of their Wealth, and by their potencie at Sea, in strength and multitude of Shipping.

For the clear and certain carrying on of which, there being none (that was) like to bee so great a Bar to them, in this their Aim, as the *English* Nation; nor any that laie so conveniently to keep up a Proportion of Trade with them: It concerned them, therefore, by all means and waies possible to discourage and beat out the *English* in all places of Trade, as far (at least) as was discreet for them, without too much Alaruming them; or having too early or hastie a Breach with them.

Their particuler Practices to which purpose in the *East-Indies*, at *Guiny*, *Greenland*, *Russia*, with the severall unfair Carriages (of som among them) to us, in those places; and even in our own Seas, is not intended to bee here mentioned: It sufficeth, that these following Advantages they had clearly gotten above us:

1. In the great Trade they did drive to *East-land*, and to the *Baltick* Sea; for Mafts, Timber, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Copper, Iron, Salt-peter, all sorts of Grain, Pot-ashes, &c. the like most necessarie Commodities.
2. In their Herring-fishing; imploying yearly upon the Coast of this Land onely, above 2000 Sail of great Vessels, or Shipping.
3. In the preserving and advancing their Manufactures; their Cloathing Trade of late arising and increasing (as it is judged) to above 60000 Cloths yearly.
4. In their *East-India* Trade; and by it, Monopolizing three sorts of Spices almost to the whole world; as, Cloves, Nuts, and Mace, and lately much Cinnamon.

The means whereby they have pursued and upheld these Advantages, were

By the great number of Shipping they have constantly built; and by the manner of managing their Trade and Shipping, in a conformitie and direction to their Grand End:

For,

1. Few Merchant's Ships among the *Hollanders* were ships of much Defence, unless these going to *India*, and so they were neither at so great a charge of Guns in building them; nor did carrie a proportion of men, or victual (in setting them out) near, or answerable to *English* Shipping of the same Burthen.
2. Several Trades they did drive in Fleets, with great Flutes, or Vessels, having never a Gun at all in them, nor more men then would possibly sail them, as most of their *East-land* Trade, their *Herring-Buss* Trade, and their *Salt* Trade, which were driven after this manner.
3. Those their Fleets were, and have been alwaies carefully and constantly attended with a Convoy at the Publick charge; and which was alway ready beforehand, and had their directions given them not from the State, but from the several Admiralties; whereby they were held to their Dutie, and strictly tied up to that service.
4. Much of the Trade which they did drive to the south-ward (not in Fleets, nor with Convoy, but in single shipping) they would often ensure in *England*; so that when loss came, it was wee sometimes that bare it, and our stock that was lessened and diminished by it.

By

By all which means,

1. They did engross the whole Trade of all Bulkie Commodities (to themselvs singly), as Timber, Clap-board, Mafts, Grain, Salt, &c.

2. And were, in som Commodities, able to go as cheap again for Freight, as wee: in som, half as cheap; and near in all, a full third penie cheaper then wee.

VVhich Cheapness of Freight produced again other great Advantages to themselvs; For

1. In som Commodities it was above 20 in the Hundred gain; in som 15; in others 10; and near 4 or 5 *per Cent.* in most; (which was a years Interest with them) And by which,

2. They were sure to get the preference of the Market of us in other Countries, and if occasion were, to under-sel us also as much *per Cent.* in all places, and upon all Trades; yea, sometimes in our own Commodities: And this together with an easie pretence of the unsafetie of our *English* shipping through our late Troubles.

3. Compelled our Nation (that wee might maintein a Stock going with them) to hire and freight the *Holland* shipping, without which, indeed, wee could not well have held up a Trade here with them, either out or home: VVhich beeing once begun by som, was immediately (by reason of the Advantage of it) followed by as many others as could: But This (though a good and beneficial expedient for the particular Merchant) begat notwithstanding several very great mischiefs to this Nation in general:

For,

1. By this wee encouraged the building more and more of

of our Neighbors Shipping, and discouraged our own; which hereupon were laid up by the walls in great numbers.

2. VVee encreased (by this) their great Trade for the *Baltick Sea*, and *East-land*, and gave them still the greater opportunitie to make themselves the Mart and Masters over us, of all Commodities belonging to the building or furnishing of Shipping, whereby their Trade still came home in a Circle; they (like wise men) laying such a Course, as one part of it strengthened another.
3. VVee dis-obliged and discontented our own people and sea-men, and insensibly weakned the strength and defence of this Nation: For by this course, wee must at length have been reduced to have hired their Mariners, when wee come to set out our Men of War: nor was it possible (had it held) to have prevented it.
4. They, by this means, carried away much unnecessarie Treasure out of this Nation, taken for Freights; and so insensibly impoverished also this Countrie; our monie occasioning a Luxe to their people, while our own Seamen starved at home for meer want, and through lack of imploiment.
5. And as the Cheapness of their Freight enabled them to under-sell us abroad, in many Commodities carried to forreign Markets by them, & by us, to sell: So it enabled them equally to over-bid us abroad for the Forreign Commodities, which they and wee bought, and to raise the price of them upon us, which while they had libertie to bring in hither, they either prevented our Merchant of the first of the Market, and then made us paie Sauce for them: or, if not, they carried them into their Countrie; or here watched the opportunitie of another seasonable vent of them. And thus they served us, as for all our *Norwey*, *East-land*, and *Russia* Commodities; so also lately in our *VVines*, *Fruits*, *Oils*, *Cur-*
rans,

rans, &c. which were the Commodities of Spain, Canaries, and the *Streights*: By both these means (*viz.* by discouraging and beating us down abroad in the selling of some Commodities; and by raising and enhaunsing us abroad in the price, or buying up of others) concluding with themselves, to wearie us out at length from all Trade, and to have the sole buying and selling of all Commodities for us.

For this method and manner of managing their affairs, daily adding to *their* stock, and answerably diminishing the Stock and Treasure of *this Nation*: and by laying it so, as it run thus in a Circle, each part of it (as wee said) strengthening another part: it would unavoidably have tended to a greater and greater disenabling us to hold anie Trade with them: and to have made themselves, for Wealth and Shipping, the Masters over us! A sufficient testimonie of which (over and above what wee have said also) wee might further see in the actual progress that they had gained upon us in our Shipping.

For,

1. In our Trade of *East-land*, whereas wee did use formerly to send thither 200 Sail of Shipping in a year, wee now did not send 10 Sail: The *Hollanders* in the mean time employing not less then 600 Sail thither; and whereby (had not a good Providence crossed or hindered a strict Alliance and Conjunction between some of those Eastern States and them) wee must soon have given them their Price, and been at their disposing for all Commodities belonging to Shipping: and then it had been too great an hazard for us (by anie Law made here) to have recovered our Trade from them.

2. In our Plantations they had three, if not four Sail of Ships, for our one: whereas they never suffered us so much

much as to Trade at all in any place or Plantation settled by them.

3. In *India* they have 20 Sail, and above for our one.

4. At *Spain*, *Canaries*, *Zant*, with several other places in the *Straights*, where they formerly rarely laded hither one ship of Goods; they now lately laded hither more then wee.

And thus, in the waie and manner of the managing the Trade in their shipping, haie much of their vigilancie to gain their advantage and design upon us.

A second Cause (therefore) whereby they do and have upheld their advantages above us, is The greatnes of the Stock they emploie, which (as wee now intimated) was more and more increased by the wisdom of this their Method in Shipping: And which, on the other side, as it did encrease and grow great, did enable them the more to give the Laws of Trade to us, both in the Government of the Exchange, and of the Markets abroad for Foreign Commodities.

A third Cause for the gaining and upholding their Advantages of us, was, The singular and prudent care they took in preserving the Credit of most of those Commodities which are their own proper Manufactures; By which they keep up the Reputation and Sale of them abroad, taking hereby a very great advantage of the contrarie Neglect in us; and by this means, likewise, very much damnifying and spoiling us.

Which that wee may clearly see of what Import this one thing alone is to us, wee shall here set down certain general Canons, or Rules, belonging to Manufactures.

1. That although Divine Providence, in the greatnes of his Wisdom, hath placed natural commodities, som here, som there; yet no Manufacture or artificial commodity, but may possibly bee had, or transplanted into anie Countrie.

2. That

2. That all Manufactures (especially such as are of Necessitie) if they are of a certain goodness, They are (like Coin) of a certain value and price also; and so on the contrarie. If of an uncertain goodness, They, &c.

3. That two persons selling or making commodities of a like goodness, hee shall have the preference of the Market, that will sell them the cheapest. *And so two Nations likewise.*

4. That the cheapness of Manufactures, and artificial commodities, doth altogether depend upon the plenty and cheapness of the matter, and upon the like cheapness of price for Handie-labor.

And these (though few) being unalterable Laws in all Manufactures, it cannot but be acknowledged, that it is through our want of the like Care, as our Neighbors, and onely through that, that the *Hollander* hath anie kinde of Woollen Manufacture:

For,

1. The matter of no VVoolen Manufacture groweth in his Countrie at all; but hee is forced to fetch it from other places; whereas wee have it here, within this Nation, plenty.

2. The price of labor depending much upon the price of victuals, house-rent, and other things necessarie, It is certain (especially to any that know both Countries) that all this is much cheaper with us, then with our Neighbors, and are like so to be.

3. Our Nation, as they were heretofore the onely workmen of these commodities; so none can excel them for Art, Skill, or Goodness, were but encouragement given them, and an Order, Regulation, and Government of the Manufactures settled among them: And therefore

It is not our Neighbor's singular Industrie above us, or a power they have to work cheaper then us; so much as

it is the Carelessness of this Nation, in keeping our Manufactures to their due contents, weight, and goodness. Their Neglect in settling a Regulation, Government, and Superfection over them, and in Inflicting due and just punishments for the fals-making of them: That is (humbly conceived to bee) the Cause of the so great thriving of our Neighbor's Cloathing, and of the so great Ruine and Decaie (on the contrarie) of our own Woollen Manufactures, and of the people depending upon them.

A fourth Cause taken by our Neighbors, Is, The Improvements of Trade that they have made by their Treaties or Articles of Confederations with other Princes; and by making this their Care and Protection of Trade abroad in all places their Interest of State. Thus taking hold of the Juncture of Circumstances, and making use of the Necessitie of the King of Denmark, they have farmed the Sound of him: Thus also at the Treatie of Munster have they reserved a power of shutting us out of the Scheldt, and have carefully in that Peace concluded on several other Articles and Provisions in order to the securing and promoting of their Traffick. And thus—&c.

A fifth Cause (and not the least means for the upholding and encreasing their Trade) Is, The smalness of their Custom, or Port-duties; also their prudent laying on and taking off Impositions, for the furtherance of their own Manufactures, and for the Incouragement of bringing in som, and Discouragement of bringing in other Commodities; and of which they have given us two ill Instances, The one in laying on a great Tax upon our English Cloths and Manufactures; The other in forbidding our Cloths wholly to bee imported, if drest or died in the Cloth; of both which wee have had som cause to complain long, as beeing plainly an Inhibition of Commerce, and if not strictly against the Laws of Nations; yet

at least against the Courf of Amitle, Alliance, and Friend-
ship.

A *sixt* way hath been, The Constant Reward and
Incouragement given to persons bringing in Inventions;
making of new Discoveries, and propounding things pro-
fitable for publick and common interest: which (how lit-
tle a thing soever it may seem to som, yet it hath ever
been, and is constantly, a very great spur to Industrie.

And these are humbly asserted to bee the principal Cau-
ses of their so much greatness and flourishing in Trade
above us.

Other Causes that have been less principal and accessarie
to these, are,

1. The Easiness or Lowness of Interest in that Coun-
trie.
2. The great facilitating of their Trade by a Bank.
3. And last of all (the onely thing proper to them) the
dearness and scarcitie of Land: and the dividing their
Estates equally to their children: whereby Trade is (as
it were) continued in a Line without Interruption;
the contrarie beeing customarie with us,

Animadversion.

All which Discours beeing onely an Evidence given in
from matter of known fact; It will (as is humbly conceiv-
ed) manifest it self.

I.

That our Neighbors have no such extraordinarie ad-
vantage in matter of Trade, either through their Countrie,
its Situation, or otherwise, as is proper or peculiar to them
only, beyond all other Nations, (as hath been long the opi-
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nion of som) but it is the manner of their Care, and of the Government that is among them, and the meer vigilancie over Trade, that is observed by them :

For,

If the Nature of those Courses, which they have taken and pursued for the Incouragement of Trade, bee looked into and considered (as they are obvious to any other that will pleas to heed them) it cannot bee imagined but they shall make any people great, rich and flourishing in Trade, that useth them, and therefore that they will do the like in anie other place as well as in *Holland*, if put in execution, especially, if it bee a place, as this of ours is, seated for Trade, and the people of the Countrie apt for it.

I I.

It is presumed, That our Neighbors would not think it just, if wee should condemn them, meerly for the taking these good Courses for themselves; or becaus they have given all Incouragements that were requisite to their Trade in their own Countrie : Much less then would they expect, that wee should actually impute these things as Crimes to them, or ground hence anie occasion to Estrange our selvs, or make a Breach with them : Nor will our neighbors therefore (as it is hoped) take it more ill from us, if wee (having now likewise recovered our Liberties) see the Necessitie of providing for the Defence of this Common-wealth by Shipping (as beeing *Islanders*); or if wee take up som of the like Courses as They, for the Incouragement of Trade among us : VVithout which, indeed, Shipping can neither bee had, or mainteined; which now also to neglect, were a very great Carelesness, and would, indeed, bee rather a Reproach to us then otherwise, having been so well taught, even by their own Example and Practice, That

1. It is by Trade, and the due ordering and governing of it, and by no other means, that Wealth and Shipping can either bee encreased, or upheld; and consequently by no other, that the power of any Nation can bee sustained by Land, or by Sea: It beeing not possible (as is humbly thought) according to the Course of humane affairs, for any Nation (having no Mines to supplie it self) to make it self powerful in either of these (that is, either Monie, or Shipping) without Trade, or a thorow Inspection into Trade, and the Course of it.

2. That it is by a Knowledge of Trade and Commerce, and the Course of it, that one Nation or State knows perfectly how to straighten and pinch another, and to compel a Compliance from them, which may bee, either

By debarring or deriving the Course of some necessary Commodities from them; as for War, for Shipping, for Food, &c. Or

By obstructing the Sale or Vent of the Native Commodities belonging to them: Or

By weakening them in their Shipping, and dreyning them by degrees of their Treasure and Coin.

By any of which Courses, if not spied, or (when spied, if) not able to bee prevented, a People or Nation must at length bee straightened and subjected: And every one of which Inconveniencies wee were very manifestly liable unto (as appears by the foregoing Narrative) through the Advantages our Neighbors had over us, and through the Wisdom of those Courses they had laid in their Trade with us: VVe beeing so near pinched, that it had been very hard, fairly to have wrested our selves out of the Nets of our Neighbors, had Sweden been as much shut to us, as Denmark; and that the King of Poland likewise could have exercised his Arbitrarie Power on us at Dantzick:
And

And had not (at length) that Court about our Shipping and Navigation been so happily and timely established by the Parliament; which as the Necessitie of it could not suddenly bee so well judged of by those that had not considered or been acquainted with the substance of the foregoing Relation: So certainly, beeing laid upon so equal and Necessarie Grounds, if continued to bee exercised, It will bee a means, in som measure, to recover us.

For, besides what wee said of the Constraint, that for the foregoing causes, laie upon us, It must even, from the Primitive grounds of Reason, bee acknowledged, That a Common-wealth cannot bee enriched, nor the People thereof provided for, by any other means, then by reducing those very Courses into general Practice, which are used by Private men to that purpose. And Therefore as Private men, that buie and sell to sute the Conveniencies of others, as well as themselves, do Constantly observe these, or the like Rules:

1. To buie at the first or best hand, or there, where they may have the Commoditie cheapest.

Answerable to which, Is,

To fetch Commodities at the immediate places of their Production or Growth, or as near as conveniently may bee.

2. To carrie Commodities to places where they are most needed.

Answerable to which, Is,

To send all Commodities Native or other to their farthest, or utmost Market, where they are probable to yield the greatest price, and have the quickest sale.

So these Canons and Rules must bee as inviolably observed also by any Nation who will pretend an Interest,

hope, or benefit from Trade: otherwise they may justly be reprov'd of less Care and Knowledge, than common or ordinarie Shop-keepers. Which Rules, notwithstanding, are not to be pursued by any State, nor can be imitated by any Common-wealth, without giving all the possible Indulgence and Incouragement, that may be, to their Shipping.

And this whole state of things, and these reasons that have been produced, being therefore all of them duly and equally considered, It is hoped, little will remain of Dis-satisfaction (or Objection upon us) about the PARLIAMENT'S late Act for the Incouragement, and Increase of our Navigation: Which was, indeed, the Thing principally propounded to be here Argued, and the Censure of which is therefore freely Submitted.

APPENDIX

